571 /149 cont./ middle age come into consideration, for even
834 older men are suspect if they talk with a young girl. Nor
857 can a young man speak inconspicuously with a married
887 woman of around thirty or with a girl of ten.

Little boys will carry short messages, but by doing this
584 they at best keep existing contact going. The older women
602 who act as intermediary (anrong, "little mother") are in a position to promote marriages desired by them by assisting in the establishment of secret contacts. This is never done by the girl's own mother; an aunt or great-aunt is the suitable person for this.

Everyone trusts her, convinced that she has the best intentions for her niece, and therefore she can always talk with her without arousing suspicion. She is able to draw the girl's attention to a certain young man, for instance by calling him and giving him errands to run. She tells the girl that his /150/ parents had wanted to make a request on his behalf (ampasuroi) but that he had refused this, and she adds to this that perhaps he already has someone in mind (nia' tjini'na). Perhaps as a result of few opportunities for free companionship, it seems to take very little to make a Makassarese girl believe that a young man is enamored of her.

Contact is prohibited but nevertheless occurs. This is
571 proved by the regularly recurring cases of an unmarried
834 pregnant woman who seeks asylum with the village functionary,
848 as well as by a number -- though not all -- of silariang
583 cases. But not each secret contact necessarily has such an ending. In the very first instance, the decision lies with
583 the girl. When an older woman communicates the feelings
584 of a certain young man to her and at the same time hints at the possibility of a flight, then, if she would like to marry him her answer is that she feels sorry for her mother because she is the only one in the house or just that she does not want to leave her mother and sisters because she still has so many little brothers and sisters. She says to the older woman:

/226 cont./
Extramarital Pregnancy

848 Pregnancy is naturally a reason for flight for an unmarried woman. For the first few months the male relatives need not notice anything so she can safely remain at home. Her mother or sister is sometimes taken into her confidence, but both will always deny this. If, under these circumstances, a woman does not suceed in persuading the father of her child to flee and marry her, she finally flees by herself and names [588] him to the religious official concerned. Summoned by the imam, the majority of men confess. Thereupon the marriage is carried out, and the couple is henceforth simply regarded and treated as tumannjala.

A man who continues to deny being the father of the child is taken to the Kali of Goa. If he maintains his denial [695] there, he receives the opportunity to swear solemnly in the great mosque of Goa that he did not make this woman pregnant. Once he has performed this oath, he is free. In reality, however, he is still in danger. He will do well not to enter the kampong where the woman used to live. The general opinion is that a woman does not lie under such circumstances. A man who denies being the father of her child, even though [627] he has fortified his denial by an oath, must always take care that one of her /227/ kinsmen will not try to kill him all the same. Only when she has subsequently married another man is he safe.

584 After the man has made his oath, the woman remains
588 in the imam's house until someone comes who wants to marry
848 her. This usually happens after a few days. First an emissary from this man has a talk with the imam, who then conveys the marriage request to the woman. If she is not yet acquainted with her marriage partner-to-be, she is given an opportunity to see him, and she can then decide for herself. If she remains seated silently with bowed head, this is tantamount to her consent. But her expression "tea'" (I don't want to) is accepted. A woman who refuses several candidates one after another will at most be told that she is making

584 /227 cont./ things difficult for the people around her. There
588 always seems to be a sufficient number of unmarried men who
848 would like to get married.

It rarely happens that a child is born without the mother
848 being married. This may happen by way of exception, for instance, if a woman is pregnant by her sister's husband. According to Moslem law, which in this point is strictly followed in Goa, she may not marry this man before her sister is divorced from him and [illegible]ddat period is past. Children born outside wedlo[illegible]herefore, a rarity. At the same time they usually die [illegible] Only once a girl of about eight years of age was po[illegible] me in Borongloë as a child who had never had a [illegible]. Figures concerning this matter
[163] cannot be given because these births, or the subsequent death of the children, are not recorded in the respective registers. Makassarese fail to see what interests would be served in doing so. They prefer to forget such cases as soon as possible.

A man who marries a woman who was impregnated by
588 another man is called pattongko' siri' ("coverer of the disgrace").
672 Such a marriage is regarded entirely like a silariang marriage.
684 No further festivities take place when it occurs. The fine is paid, and the man is tumannjala with respect to his wife's kinsmen until the reconciliation, even though he only attained this status by virtue of the fact that he married her. It is usually a widower or a man of over thirty years who wants to contract such a marriage. Sometimes he is a kinsman of the woman, but in that case always a cousin of the sixth degree (sampopinruang) or further removed, for her closest kinsmen are, in the first instance, tumasiri'.

[848] His action is appreciated. It makes the woman /228/ happy, so it is said, because he saves her and her kinsmen from an even greater disgrace, giving birth to a child without being married. This appreciation is expressed, in the first place, by an early reconciliation, often as soon as a month after the marriage has been contracted. Furthermore, although

588 /228 cont./ during the period between nikka' and recon-
672 ciliation the "pattongko' siri'" is officially regarded as
684 tumannjala, in reality both parties do their best to avoid each other more than usual.

588 A description of such a wedding will follow here to describe the atmosphere which is so completely different from that prevailing at an ordinary festive marriage, but especially to show also what both have in common. This is Djawi's wedding, which occurred in 1940 in Borongloë. There was no question of a festival here. The tone of the conversations was different from that at a festive wedding, and the ritual had been reduced to a few simple actions.

588 Djawi had fled from her parental house in a pregnant
●848 condition. The man whom she had named as the father of her child had denied this, and she had then been taken to the house of the adat community head to wait there until someone should come to marry her, or, as it was expressed, "to take her disgrace away from her" (angalleangi siri'na), or else, "to let her live" (antallassi). After a few days an immediate
588 uncle of Djawi came to tell her that her uncle of the seventh degree (purina sampopinruang), by the name of Rappung, a divorced man without children, wanted to marry her. The adat community head conveyed this request to her. She already knew Rappung, and therefore she did not have to see him first, and she was given ample time to think the matter over. She continued to be silent, and from this it was concluded that she agreed to the marriage. The head reported this to the Imam of Borongloë, who sent a letter to Djawi's father in which he requested his consent to the marriage of his daughter. The letter included an authorization for the Imam to take his place as wali, an authorization to which only his fingerprint had to be added.

[583] /229/ On this occasion it appeared that the sawah designated as sunrang yielded only 50 sheaves of paddy, while a sawah of 100 sheaves was regarded as customary in such a

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to the land (no rain, etc.), just as in the case of incest. Thus I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line, and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-committal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also said that they no longer have the custom of using money to get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest official on South Celebes. i. e., chancellor. Younger tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thousands come from all over to visit these places. Every day the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic, mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen together. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any resistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quality of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together. There is no dancing together. There are no pantun contests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in private. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
● 848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal, and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is emphasized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?) in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house, then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tendency toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs to the woman.

565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They said that they go to other places and often lie about their past